Discursos

MESSAGE OF THE HONORABLE LUIS MUÑOZ MARIN, GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO, TO THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRD REGULAR SESSION,

FEBRUARY 7, 1955.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION PRESS
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Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly:

When you met on January 10 I submitted to you my proposed budget of expenditures and appropriations for the coming fiscal year. I come before you today to carry out another of my constitutional duties which is that of informing you of the state of the country, and to bring to your consideration other important matters not wholly of a budgetary nature.

The topics with which I shall deal in this message come under the headings of economic, social, administrative, political, and the integration of them all with the efforts and hopes of the people of Puerto Rico.

On the economic side I should like to call your attention to the encouraging fact that during the recent brief recession in the United States, production in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico continued to rise, though more slowly than in previous years, whereas that of the United States fell off 7 per cent. However, this decline in the rate of growth has added to the obstacles in the way of meeting the goals we have set ourselves. We pegged these goals—minimum family income, full employment, social services—at high levels, and we did so deliberately, because the entire history of the great strides made by the people of Puerto Rico in recent years makes it clear that challenge releases energies of will, imagination, and moral reserves they never realized they had.

During the past year the net income of Puerto Rico increased by $37,000,000, that is to say, a total of $961,000,000 as compared with $924,000,000. Agriculture accounts for $9,000,000 of this increase; business and allied services, for $10,000,000; and industry for $15,000,000. The average and over-all earnings of workers were higher than the previous year. Unemployment was

reduced by 5,000 in spite of the steady decline in poorly paid piece-work in the needle-work industry, and the falling-off of emigration which began to show itself in the second half of the fiscal year. This falling-off increased in the last half of the calendar year of 1954, thus undoubtedly wiping out a part of the gains that had been registered.

We must bear in mind that the objective of full employment, on the one hand, and a minimum decent living wage, on the other, may at times temporarily interfere with one another; but over the long haul this never happens in a sound economic system. Through increased production a level of annual income can be reached which, equitably distributed through wise legislation and the free interplay of economic groups, brings about better standards of living. Increased production is achieved in part by the attitude the aspiration to a better life implies and, consequently, by effort and discipline on the part of labor and management. It is also the result of better techniques, more efficient equipment. The more productive the worker is, the fewer workers will be needed for the same volume of production, or the same number of workers will turn out more, or an increased number of workers will produce more. In the first case, the improvement of the living standards of some will bring about temporary unemployment for others. In the second or third instance, both living standards and full employment will move hand in hand toward the achievement of their goals.

In the last analysis, increased production through attitudes and techniques, industrialization, intelligently planned mechanization, is the road to economic salvation. Full employment on the basis of full poverty can never be an objective of a civilized society. Ultimate full employment, coupled with higher wages and family income, is a more difficult and a better goal. For this reason it calls for clear understanding and unsparing effort on the part of all our people.

Puerto Rico is steadily increasing and diversifying its production, both through its remarkable industrial progress and its effort to make more diversified and better use of its land. The most recent and dramatic example of this is the case of the Valley of Lajas. The groundwork has been laid, and the results will soon be seen. The problems of reclaiming the salt lands of the

Valley, and the matter of underground drainage have been under study. We have also given consideration to the question of land tenure in the Valley, and the agricultural use of these lands best suited to the economy of the region, and of the whole country, once they enjoy the benefits of irrigation. We have come to the conclusion that the land tenure of the Valley need not be changed. Therefore, the government funds which would have been needed to acquire these lands are available for other projects which have high priority in broadening the economic base on which the continued improvement of our people depends. Naturally, concerted action on the part of the farmers affected, both to neutralize the salt content of large areas of the Valley, and to solve the problem of underground drainage, is called for. The government will use its right to acquire those lands which form part of the area in question only in the event that their owners feel unable to cooperate in the over-all plan. I anticipate no such contingency. The Land Authority owns ten thousand acres in this region.

The mere mention of this vast undertaking brings to mind the name of a great public servant who conceived it and began it, Antonio Lucchetti, as well as that of a modest but devoted legislator who by his tenacity, his understanding of the great need for this work not only for his district, but for the economic balance of all Puerto Rico, never for a moment let us forget our duty to support the enterprise, carry it on, and see it through. I refer to Justo Guardiola, an inspiring example of how a legislator can and should combine his duties to his constituency with the larger interests of the whole Puerto Rican people.

The balance of payments this past year, that is to say, the total balance of imports and exports, including not only commodities, but services, amounts to: imports, $643,000,000, exports, $547,000,000, in addition to $84,000,000 in veterans' payments, pensions, farm subsidies, Federal parity payments, and other similar revenues, leaving a deficit of only $11,000,000, the smallest since the second World War.

A deficit of this sort, large or small, is not necessarily detrimental to Puerto Rico. If a substantial part of our imports consists of capital goods, which contribute to the increased production of wealth, this deficit can prove beneficial. The fact of the matter is that I do not think Puerto Rico has made the fullest use of such

goods that our need for economic expansion would call for. A larger proportion of our imports should be machinery and industrial equipment, farm machinery to modernize agricultural production, rather than superfluous luxuries, consumer goods which add nothing to production, or to the sound cultural well-being of our country, or, when all is said and done, to the real and lasting satisfaction of those who buy and consume them. A healthy culture has no need to ape its neighbor, or to try to dazzle it with its possessions.

Something might be done along these lines through modifications in the excise tax laws. However, the alternatives which I shall submit to you in this connection are, in the main, motivated by other reasons: reducing prices on certain household articles which were formerly looked upon as luxuries but which are ceasing to be so regarded under the better living standards more Puerto Ricans are achieving every day; and making the administration of the laws better for the citizen and easier for the government. I shall shortly lay before you various proposals. Your good judgement will decide whether some of them, or others which the Legislative Assembly itself may put forward, should be passed. A careful revision of the excise tax laws is called for.

The government must have at its disposal the necessary revenues to achieve the goals of service and general well-being we propose for our people. These services must be steadily increased in view of the fact that our population, except during years of large scale emigration, continues to grow. But the more rapidly our economy develops, and once we have achieved the minimum goals which are our objective, the lower will be the taxes in proportion to the national income, and, therefore, in proportion to the individual tax-payer's income. If a steady rhythm of economic development can be maintained, it should not be long before the general tax rates can be lowered. If by the time Puerto Rico's net annual income reaches the figure of $2,000,000,000 the problem of the children to whom education is unavailable has been solved, and the educational tragedy of double sessions and so-called "interlocking" has come to an end, and fully adequate health services can be provided, and the program of roads, harbors, airfields, reclamation and proper utilization of the land has been met, vigorous industrialization, expansion of the Uni-

versity and other cultural agencies has been attained, it is highly unlikely that this doubling of the country's wealth will carry with it a doubling of the government budget. Sizeable reductions may, therefore, be expected when we have met the moral compulsions which at the moment make them impossible. Moreover, in connection with this policy it should be borne in mind that within a number of years the tax exemption for new industries will have come to an end. When this happens these industries will come under a system of taxation which will be favorable to them just as to other economic activities.

The debt assumed by the Commonwealth and its municipalities is relatively small in proportion to its ability to meet its obligations. As of June 30, 1954, government indebtedness represented only 21 per cent of its annual revenues, and 3½ per cent of the net income of the island. On the basis of the latest statistics of the United Nations, only three of the thirty-eight nations which submitted a report on their finances had a smaller public debt in proportion to their annual fiscal return than Puerto Rico.

To finance public works the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, when it issues the latest loan authorized by the Legislative Assembly, will have a credit margin of $43,000,000. In my budget message I recommended the authorization of an additional bond issue of $14,500,000 for which, I pointed out, it will not be necessary to raise the real estate tax by more than a fractional increase. The credit margin of the municipalities, over and above the municipal bond issues, is $56,000,000. Only a very small number of municipalities have a limited credit margin. In the case of most of them it is large. San Juan, for example, has a margin of nearly $28,000,000; Mayagüez, $3,000,000; Ponce, nearly $5,000,000; Guaynabo, over $800,000; Guánica, over $400,000; Salinas, almost $600,000; Loíza, $275,000; San Sebastián, $358,000; Guayanilla, $219,000. In contrast there are municipalities like Luquillo, which has only a $15,000 credit margin; Hatillo, with only $20,000; and Aibonito, $25,000.

I want to take this opportunity to emphasize the fact that the operating expenses and the normal income of the government of the Commonwealth are nearly equal. In my budget message I recommended operational costs totaling $129,000,000. The

regular available funds are estimated at $133,000,000. That is to say, in the current fiscal year all public works will have to be provided for by loans, except for the $4,000,000 surplus between operating expenses and normal income. As a great part of the public works in construction call for the additional expense of operation, we are close to the point where, assuming that last year's rate of economic growth does not increase, normal income and expenditures will be the same. In this event we will be unable to authorize further public works, even though we have the necessary credit margin for their construction, owing to the fact that there will be no normal income available for operating many of them. The accelerated economic development of the country may take care of this situation in the future as it has in the past. If this is not the case, only a tax increase or a considerable reduction in services would make it possible to carry on the necessary programs of public works and economic development. I have faith that in the future, as in the past, the economic dynamism of the country will solve this dilemma. It should be borne in mind that the net income of the country rose by less than 2 per cent last year, due to economic contraction in the United States, and other factors, such as the prolonged dock strike, whereas in the years immediately preceding the increase had been at the rate of 6 per cent annually. I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to inform you that in a few weeks I expect a report from the commission appointed by me to eliminate, in consideration for the rights of all, the harbor strikes that so seriously threaten the economic expansion of Puerto Rico.

Among the steps that could be taken to stimulate the economic acceleration we need, I am recommending income tax exemption for trust funds which form part of pension plans, and similar arrangements set up by employers for the benefit of their workers and organized under the laws of any state of the Union. Such exemption would strengthen our economy through a new source of financing. I have also recommended that variable depreciation be made legal, in order that industries may deduct plant investment as quickly as they desire, thus relieving them of taxes during their critical years, but more quickly bringing them to the day when, amortization being complete, they will pay the treasury taxes on their earnings.

I propose that the Industrial Development Company be authorized to make minority holding investments in private enterprises when circumstances so warrant. The Secretary for Justice has ruled that the Development Company is already so empowered by existing legislation. Nevertheless, as such authorization was not explicit, nor would it seem that the Legislature intended such authorization, I believe that you should specifically take under advisement the desirability of granting or refusing such authorization to the Executive branch. In my opinion, its granting would give additional stimulus to the development of industry, and, at the same time, permit the people of Puerto Rico to share collectively in the profits of a number of enterprises in proportion to their success.

The merchandising systems of Puerto Rico leave much to be desired. Only recently have there been signs of some improvement. Last year I appointed a commission made up of representatives of government and private industry, some from Puerto Rico, others from the North, with instructions to study the merchandising system and to make recommendations for its improvement. These recommendations will form an integral part of the endeavor to strengthen our economic system while at the same time protecting the purchasing power of the consumer. The following recommendations are on the point of being put into practice:

The establishment of more consumer's cooperatives in rural areas and cities; the establishment of retail cooperatives to make possible economical quantity buying; the establishment of modern markets in which the owner's profits are based on small profits on large sales volume and not on high profits on a small volume of sales; training in modern merchandising techniques for storekeepers, clerks, and cooperatives; training the consumer to know the value and utility of what he is buying so he can get more for his money; setting up collective warehouses for the sale of our agricultural products, and other similar measures. Most of these can be carried out without special funds from the Assembly. The largest contribution to this program has already been authorized and consists for the most part in appropriations approved by you for the central metropolitan market.

I do not want to conclude this portion of my message without recommending that you take action, after listening to the Secretary of the Treasury, to reform legislation affecting the in-

come tax levied on visiting artists, to the end of making it easier for Puerto Rico to benefit from the artistic talent of all the world. Measures should be taken to make art more easily accessible to persons in the lower income brackets. I am also recommending that prizes for art, literature, and science awarded in Puerto Rico be tax-exempt.

In the social aspect, through a series of laws, some passed by the Commonwealth, others of Federal origin, we have been gradually coming to include the various aspects of social security which all modern countries are making their goal. In order to create a feeling of social security, such countries have set up or enlarged systems of employment insurance, old-age, widows, and orphans pensions, relief for the crippled and needy, as well as health, rehabilitation, and similar programs. We have been establishing such security in Puerto Rico. The one thing that is still lacking is overall unemployment insurance. We have made some progress in this direction in the sugar industry and with transportation workers. I now propose a step that will greatly benefit the workers and the economy of the country: the establishment of unemployment insurance that will begin by taking in approximately 200,000 workers, in coordination with the Federal system. Actuarial studies have been completed, and the necessary legislation will come before you for approval during the present session. This insurance will not only provide protection for the workers, but will also act as an important stabilizing factor in acquisitive power which will be reflected in business and personal and professional services. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico could establish this insurance on its own, without affiliating it with the system of the United States, although the administrative costs would be somewhat higher. I recommend that it be done in conjunction with the Federal system, because the latter is, in this respect, so completely in keeping with our concept of the Commonwealth and its potential development that it practically symbolizes certain general features of this development. The administration of this insurance will be carried out by the Commonwealth with funds contributed by the Federal government, but to which employers in the Commonwealth will, in turn, contribute. The amount of compensation, and the number of weeks during which payment will be made, will be determined by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto

Rico. Policy rates, above a flat minimum, will be fixed by decision of this Assembly. The payments will go into a separate fund in the Federal Treasury in the name of the Commonwealth. The joint system will only go into effect if the Congress of the United States so decides, and the Legislature of Puerto Rico approves.

Old age and survivor insurance already exists, approved several years ago by Congress, and ratified by the Legislature. As old-age and survivor insurance comes to include a larger number of persons, and the income level in Puerto Rico rises, the number of cases of direct relief will decline, and it will continue to be possible to increase individual or family aid. Through collective bargaining various unions have succeeded in having written into their contract provision for sick insurance and retirement. Besides, other private insurance plans have been set up, such as the Blue Cross, for government and private employees. We may state that, once unemployment insurance has been passed, all the risks provided for in the social security systems of the most advanced countries in the world will be covered in Puerto Rico.

We shall achieve our goal of providing schooling for 91 per cent of the children of primary school age—the maximum calculation possible under present circumstances in Puerto Rico—one year before we had planned. Our University already has an enrollment of 13,000 students, and is one of the largest in America. The determined effort to provide better teaching in our public school system and university continues unabated. As I pointed out before, our schools are faced by the problem of double sessions. Thousands of children do not receive the benefits they should because their hours of teaching are inadequate. I must point out to you that in the case of the University the recommended appropriation allows only for maintenance at its present level of the number of entering Freshmen, due to the slight economic contraction to which I have referred. Nevertheless, to maintain this level of entering students, the additional funds I have requested will have to be appropriated. I do not think that an institution rendering such valuable service should be hampered in its growth. I would ask this body to work out ways and means of providing for this growth.

The effect of the double session system on such a large percentage of our student enrollment is extremely harmful. The

difference it may make in the general ability of the people of Puerto Rico, despite their native intelligence, may be nothing short of tragic. We should like to see every human being in a position to use in adult life, as the result of education, the maximum of intelligence and moral sense with which nature has endowed him. But the double session gravely impairs this educational ideal. It has been calculated that to do away with the double session at present, building the most modest schoolhouses, would call for an outlay of not less than $9,000,000, and that the cost of equipping and staffing these new schools, merely on the existing basis of attendance, would mean $11,000,000 additional each year.

For this reason I have recommended the building of a substantial number of modest schools, and experimentation with a new type of rural school of drastically lower construction cost. In the face of our people's urgent need for good education, we can rest assured that, confronted with such a dilemma, a people of good heart will realize that what counts in education is not the buildings but the teaching content; that with a minimum of physical equipment maximum moral and intellectual results can be achieved.

The health of our people continues to improve. During the year the death rate declined from 8 to 7½ per cent per thousand inhabitants. We are now below the average figure for the United States, and only two states of the Union show a lower death rate than Puerto Rico. Malaria has practically disappeared as a cause of death in Puerto Rico. The same thing is happening with tuberculosis. Between 1940 and 1950 the death rate from tuberculosis declined from 260 per hundred thousand inhabitants annually to 130. In June of 1954 it had fallen off to 38, and toward the end of the year to 32, almost the level of the United States. It seems that this terrible scourge will come to occupy a relatively minor place among the health problems of Puerto Rico, which makes necessary a careful reassessment of plans for hospital facilities of different kinds. It is probable that in the near future we can transfer a part of the funds we had alloted, or planned to allot, to this disease, and intensify the study of means to prevent and cure other ailments. The death rate from gastro-enteritis and pneumonia has also declined. Except for epidemics such as we are

now undergoing, infantile paralysis is less frequent and more benign in Puerto Rico than in many other areas. It is a disease whose causes and course are as yet insufficiently known. The Department of Health is looking after the diagnosis and treatment of cases of the malady. As soon as the Salk vaccine has been approved for general human use, the Department of Health will take the necessary steps to see that the population of Puerto Rico receives the benefits of it.

The improvement in health is due in part to the advances of medicine in their effective application to the needs of our people and in part to the betterment of living conditions among practically all families in Puerto Rico. As a result of these factors life expectancy, which in 1940 was 46 years, in 1945, 54 years, and in 1950, 61 years, is now 64 years.

As for what, in a broad sense, we might call the administrative aspect: Even though I think that the police force serves our people well, it is possible that a different form of organization than that under which it now functions might improve the service. After consultation with the Police Commission and Commissioner, I propose to recommend legislation to that effect.

The number of policemen assigned the metropolitan area of San Juan is comparable to that of cities of similar size in the United States. The metropolitan area of San Juan, with a population of 465,000, has 628 law enforcement officers. Dallas, with a population of 434,000, has 657; Kansas City, with a population of 465,000, has a police staff of 534. I am not recommending an increase in number. However, if the Legislative Assembly concludes that such increase is necessary, and can find the funds for it, I shall favorably consider its decision.

It is in the public interest to revise the method of selecting jurymen. The jury is one of the great democratic institutions which as yet is not well acclimated in Puerto Rico. Many good citizens do not grasp the degree of their responsibility when they become members of a jury whose duty it is to decide what is due society, on the one hand, and the rights and freedom of the individual, on the other. Many good citizens have not fully understood the profound moral transgression involved in attempting to influence by means other than the evidence those citizens on whom the duty has devolved of judging their fellow-man individually,

and insuring respect for the laws approved by their fellow-men collectively. Our culture, which is outstanding in other aspects of democracy, is deficient in this. With a carefully thought-out modification in methods of jury selection and operation, this situation can be improved. I am in favor of the method established by the Legislature being administered by a judiciary prepared to put an end to the bad cultural habits of the citizenry in relation to the jury system.

I recommend that the work of the Joint Legislative Commission which has been set up to receive, to study, and act upon the reports of the Comptroller be activated. Such action could consist in the passing of laws considered necessary to correct such ills as the reports reveal. Moreover, as the Comptroller is basically a functionary of the Legislature, I propose that the Legislative Assembly, or either of its houses by resolution, acting on the information of the Commission, present to the Executive all cases on which it is held that the Executive should act and has failed to do so. My instructions to the Secretary of Justice are to establish the procedure, not only on his own initiative, but in all those cases on which the Legislative Assembly so acts.

I have spoken on previous occasions of the desirability of making legal provision for the holding of primaries. Perhaps we should try out a law which would allow the political parties to draw up their own primary regulations within the framework of the basic principles required by the law. Puerto Rico needs to see party responsibility observed in the development of governmental programs, but adequate measures should be taken to make sure that the citizen does not find himself obliged to vote in certain cases for candidates in whom he has no confidence that they will support the program of the government, in which he does have confidence. The people are entitled not only to the prescription, but to the most direct opportunity of selecting their druggist.

Thought should be given to legislation limiting financial contributions to political parties and providing them with means to carry on their legitimate activities. In the long run, such legislation seems to me necessary to keep political parties and candidates free from all improper influence. I know that it is the healthy custom of the Legislative Assembly to work out such legislation on the basis of consultation between the majority and minority groups.

Later on during this session I hope to be able to make recommendations for municipal reform in keeping with the findings of a committee of state officials, of members of the Legislature, and of the municipalities appointed for this purpose some time ago.

I recommend that this Assembly take action as soon as possible on the matter of the necessary funds and authorizations to take over from the Federal government the mortgages which the farmers of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, after making every possible effort to secure the money needed to pay off these mortgages, have been unable to raise in spite of the generous terms offered by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. The object of the government of the Commonwealth in taking over these mortgages is, as has already been publicly stated, either to allow the farmers, who have been unable to pay them off within the period legally stipulated by the Federal government, an extension of three years, or to completely cancel the debt of those who are clearly unable to meet their obligation.

On the political side: No proposal of change in the compact which constitutes the legal and moral basis of the relations between Puerto Rico and the American Union has been proposed to the Congress of the United States, or is being proposed. Naturally, I believe that there should be such changes in the future. The best way to achieve the permanence of a political status is to avoid making it immutable. If we may assume that the principle of association by compact is to be permanent, and if our people do not decide upon federated statehood or independence, at some given moment the federal responsibilities and functions which were generically agreed upon should be transferred to the people of Puerto Rico when it becomes apparent that their exercise by the Federal government is not indispensable to the proper functioning of the principle of association. What these responsibilities and functions are to be is a matter for careful study and calm, dispassionate discussion. But to think that the people of Puerto Rico would refuse the exercise of functions and the acceptance of responsibilities compatible with the concept of association, seems to me an affront to our countrymen's basic dignity as citizens. Such an attitude would be as incompatible with their pride as citizens of the United States as with their pride as citizens of Puerto Rico.

Both citizenships—let us make this point clear—exist legally, as set forth by the Constitution of the United States, the compact and the Constitution of Puerto Rico. United States citizenship is not, of course, double, nor is that of the Commonwealth. The Puerto Rican, however, enjoys both, just as the New Yorker enjoys two, or the Californian. Legally, citizenship in the Commonwealth is so important that without it you would not be listening to me in this chamber as legislators, nor would I have the honor of addressing you as Governor.

But of even greater importance to me than the legal significance is the moral significance of both. To me the citizenship of the United States and that of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico are equally honorable. The profound and moral significance of the citizenship of the United States is that it immanently contains the devotion to liberty, the dedication to democracy, the profound respect for the dignity of the human being. I wish to go on record that as a Puerto Rican, as a citizen of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, I feel no less obligated to honor these principles of liberty and dignity than as a citizen of the United States. If I were only a citizen of the United States I would, as such, feel an unswerving loyalty to those principles. If I were only a citizen of Puerto Rico I would, as such, feel an equal obligation to those same principles of freedom and human dignity. The sentiments which these two citizenships symbolize for us are thus identical and inseparable. If we lack the virtue of loyalty toward one, it is doubtful that we will truly feel it toward the other. Loyalty cannot be based on disloyalty. Never forget that.

I hope that the information, figures, points of view, statistics, proposals contained in this message will have something of the utility for the legislative branch envisaged by the Constitution when it stipulated such communication. Undoubtedly, they are important within limits. By themselves, however they do not suffice for the deeper orientation of a people in our situation. We have spoken of this here before: Man is not made for his economy, but his economy for Man; Man is not made for political status, but political status for Man.

Assuming that all the proposed economic, social, administrative, political goals have been achieved, if a voice coming from their own soul were to say to the people of Puerto Rico: "People

of Puerto Rico, what is your aim in life?" would the people of Puerto Rico answer: "Our aim is to have a favorable trade balance" or "Our aim is to have less tuberculosis" or "Our aim is to be freely associated with the United States"? Of course not. All this great undertaking, all these admirable realities must lead to something, to something that warrants the respect of our mind and the approval of our heart. And this something can be none other than a way of life, a grasp of moral and vital values, certain traits of character which lend personality to the myriad variety of individuals who constitute the people of Puerto Rico. It is impossible to draw up an educational blue-print to shape a mode of character, nor can the school system and university provide all the influences needed for this. There are good educational influences and bad "dis-educational" influences—radio, television, newspapers, books, museums, religious, social, civic institutions, traditions and habits—which operate on the individual and the community. But there is no reason to doubt that one of the things that the conscious educational processes of society must stimulate is keen interest in, and all possible access to, the values of Western culture. Another is the decent, simple pride which should be innate to a society like ours of Puerto Rico: identification with its modest but worthy past, and its admirable present of unstinted effort in the face of great adversity, and the formulation for itself of a moral goal for the future which can arouse the respect of its conscience and infuse new life into its imagination.

Naturally, I do not believe that such things can be legislated into being. I mention them here because neither do I see how it is possible to legislate, educate, govern, live, without asking ourselves in some way what it is we are seeking in the personality and character of the people of which we form a part, and in whose name we educate, legislate, govern, and contribute, in the modest measure of our ability, to understanding and good will among men.

Friends of the Legislative Assembly, I believe that our people of Puerto Rico and our fellow-citizens of the American Union will appreciate the fact that considerations of this sort inform our thoughts in the public tasks we have undertaken.